

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

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"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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## The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

From the Wisconsin Free Democrat.

### LETTER OF MR. BOOTH--DESPOTISM OVER THE SOUL.

To the Editor of the Free Democrat:

I learn that it is reported, that it is my own fault that I am now in prison, and that I could be released, at any time, for the asking; and that there are not wanting Republicans who say, that if I am not willing to ask for pardon, I ought not to be released. Let me state the matter fairly.

The Supreme Court of this State has decided that the Act under which I was convicted was unconstitutional, was a law--not voidable, but void--and discharged me from the sentence of the U. S. District Court. By this decision, it pledged the power, authority and sovereignty of the State for the protection of my liberty against any attempted enforcement of the original sentence. That decision of the Supreme Court stands unrevoked as the law of this State, for it refused obedience to the mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court, requiring it to reverse its decision, and denied its appellate jurisdiction.

The State, then, by its highest tribunal, has declared me innocent, and fully entitled to its protection from arrest and imprisonment. Its Executive, Gov. Randall, in his Annual Message, referring approvingly to the decision of the Supreme Court declared it to be the law of Wisconsin, and voluntarily pledged all the power of the State to see it enforced.

I have, then, the judicial decree, and the Executive pledge--the word and oath of the State--guaranteeing my liberty. I have also the declaration of every Republican paper in the State, at the time of my discharge, and the resolutions of more than a hundred public meetings, in favor of the decision of the Supreme Court, and of sustaining me in the position I had taken.

I have also the Legislative action of the State in my favor, declaring slave judgments void, and punishing with fine and imprisonment, all who re-arrest and imprison for the same cause one who has been discharged on a writ of *habeas corpus*. I have, then, the Judicial, the Executive, and the Legislative authority of the State for saying that I am now illegally imprisoned, that I was kidnapped, and those who now hold me a prisoner have no more right to hold me, than they have to imprison Judge Cole or Gov. Randall, without the pretense of authority of law.

Now, what am I asked to do, to entitle me to a release?

1. To deny the faith of Wisconsin, by acknowledging that the writ of *habeas corpus* and the Right of Trial by Jury may be constitutionally abolished, and that an unconstitutional Act--a nullity--may be a valid law, strong enough to override the rights and sovereignty of the State, its Courts, its Executive, its Legislature, and the liberties of the people.

2. To become a hypocrite. For every one knows that if I should ask pardon for violating the Fugitive Act, and promise to obey it hereafter, I would be lying.

For I do not recognize it as a law. It is a bold usurpation, striking directly at the liberties of the people, and the authority of Jehovah--What God commands, it forbids! What He forbids, it commands! It is cruel, bloody, wicked, despotic, damnable! Those who uphold it, if they profess Republicanism, deserve the scorn of all patriots; if they profess Christianity, deserve the scorn of all believers; and richly merit the damnation they assign to unbelievers. And I am asked to swear fealty to such a law, before I can be released--before the question of my release can even be considered. The petitions of leading democrats in this city, asking for my release, could not even be considered, till I asked for pardon, under oath, wrote Attorney General Black in answer to the prayer of these petitioners.

A. F. Pratt, on his way to the Charleston Convention, called on the President, as did other delegates who felt a deep interest in my case, and after his interview with that "old public functionary" wrote back to the *News*, speaking by authority, with great apparent satisfaction:

"You may say to Mr. Booth that the President will remit his fine when he will open up that he did wrong in breaking the laws, and promise to do better hereafter, and not till then."

And the *News*, immediately after its editor's return from Washington, declared:--"S. M. Booth will continue to suffer the penalties of violated laws unless he gets down on his knees and begs for mercy. Let him do this, and we doubt not his prison bars would open."

This is the debasement required of me, as the condition precedent of my release! Nor is there any certainty of my release, should I thus humiliate myself. Does any honorable man--any Republican--say I ought to comply with such a requisition? If so, I would like to know his name.

This whole proceeding shows, in a striking light, the despotic character of slavery, and of our Federal Government under its present administration. Here is a statute which the moral sense of the people of the Free States regard as a usurpation a violation of the Constitution, and dangerous to liberty. And of those who hold it to be Constitutional, most of them regard it as inhuman and oppressive, and when put to the practical test, would themselves disregard it by giving aid and comfort to the fugitive. This statute, so offensive to the moral sense, and so opposite to the sober judgment of the people, is attempted to be enforced, in my case, with a pertinacity, a rigor, and a vindictive characteristic only of the despotism of slavery.

For the sentence of Judge Miller, against me, can only be fulfilled by perpetual imprisonment, or by removal by my acknowledging the justice of the Fugitive Act, and "getting down on my knees" before the president, and "begging for mercy!"

I have now been four months in prison. My business has been interrupted and broken up, my plans all frustrated, my pecuniary interest injured, and how much damage this imprisonment has been and is likely to be to me, any business man

would readily perceive, if he had been suddenly arrested and confined as I have been. I have a family needing my care and efforts to provide for them. There is every inducement to lead me to wish to be at liberty, and it is no light sacrifice I am compelled to make, in remaining here. But I have no other alternative. I cannot do what is required for my release, without dishonor, without sacrificing the most cherished conviction of my life, and without a complete surrender, on my part, of the glorious position in behalf of Freedom assumed and maintained for five years by the State of Wisconsin. I hold her honor now in my keeping, and if her courts and authorities and people all deny the faith they have professed, and submit, like trembling slaves, to the one man power, and permit Judge Miller to ride rough-shod over the constitution and laws, over the sovereignty and rights and liberties of the people of Wisconsin, and set at defiance, and treat with contempt her courts, that he may imprison her citizens and work his despotism for the establishment of slavery on our soil, and play the part of blood-hound for the slave catchers of the South, I trust that while life and reason remain to me, I shall not be found among the recreants to liberty, and that I shall be able to oppose to the despotism of the slave power that now holds me, a will as strong, a patience as enduring, a faith as firm, a courage as unflinching, and a hope as cheerful in the service of Freedom, as my kidnappers and jailers show in the service of Slavery.

If liberty is a crime, and the love of it a felony, then am I justly imprisoned. But if it be the foundation and corner stone of our Republican edifice, and the permeating spirit of all our Republican institutions, then is my continued imprisonment a monstrous anomaly and wrong, and a disgrace to the State of Wisconsin, which should redress with the blush of shame, the cheeks of every honest, liberty-loving citizen.

In a postscript to a business letter, written not long ago, Senator Durkee says: "How strange it is, that you have to lie in jail, contrary to the laws of our State! Is there not virtue enough in the people to maintain their own honor and vindicate the decision of their own Courts?"

I leave this question for the people to answer.

S. M. BOOTH.

U. S. COURT HOUSE, JUNE 28, 1860.

[The following is an Editorial of the Wisconsin Free Democrat, a Republican paper, in relation to the preceding.]

#### THE CASE OF S. M. BOOTH.

We yesterday published a communication from Mr. Booth, on which we had not the time to comment, stating the condition on which he holds as a prisoner in the U. S. Court House, the rejection of the petition of leading Democrats in his behalf, the reasons why he cannot comply with the requirements demanded of him by the powers at Washington, as a prerequisite to his release, and the position the State sustains to him, in this case, by virtue of the official acts of its Judiciary, Executive and Legislature, and the declarations and pledges of the press and people of Wisconsin. His statement is clear, truthful, explicit, and is a full vindication of the course he has pursued since his imprisonment, and must meet the hearty approval of all who have a spark of common sense remaining in their souls. The published Fugitive Slave Act refuses to recognize as a law, and he declines to ask pardon for an act which his conscience approves, and which the good and liberty loving of all countries must honor. And he is right.

But no outsider, who has done nothing to relieve him, could blame him had he yielded the point in controversy, and acknowledged the righteousness of the Fugitive Act, and the justice of his imprisonment, by asking the President to pardon him. True, the Slave Power would have triumphed, in such a case, not only over him but over the State of Wisconsin, and no thanks are due to the Republican party of this State that it has not done so. For, with exception of the abortive efforts to procure a written *habeas corpus* during the first weeks of his imprisonment, so far as any aid and comfort has been given him, or efforts made for his release, he might as well have been imprisoned in South Carolina as in Wisconsin. And notwithstanding we have a Republican ascendancy in all branches of the government, he has received no protection from the State Government whatever, which had been so freely pledged to him.

Look at it. Here is a man kidnapped and held in prison in the midst of three-fourths of a million of free people, in defiance of their laws, the decisions of their highest Court and their own resolutions, pledges and declarations a hundred times repeated. They have declared, over and over again, that for the praiseworthy act for which he is now imprisoned, he should not suffer either in his person or in his purse; that he should be protected from injury either to his liberty or property; and yet he has been allowed to lie five months--one-third of a year--in prison, his business neglected, his pecuniary interests sacrificed, not permitted the liberty of a chattel on a southern plantation, but shut up like a refractory slave, and no earnest efforts have been made for his release!

When the Supreme Court adjourned, it was understood that an application would be made to Judge Cole for a writ of *habeas corpus*; but as legal proceedings cost money, and as none was raised for that purpose, nothing was done, and all hope and expectation failed in that quarter. Then it was Mr. Booth's plan to prosecute the U. S. officers, by whom he is now held, for false imprisonment, and repeat the suit once a week, as long as his imprisonment continued. And in the present constitution of the Courts of the State, there is no doubt the would recover heavy damages. But clerks and sheriffs, and traveling expenses and lawyers, must be paid, and without money nothing could be done, and Mr. Booth's application to lawyers, to conduct civil suits against those who hold him in illegal confinement, was as useless as the application for a writ of *habeas corpus*.

Now, it is perfectly idle for Republicans to find fault with the U. S. officers, or with the Federal Government, for keeping Mr. Booth in prison, as long as they do nothing for his release, themselves. The present administration will say, that by imprisoning Mr. Booth they but execute a law they found on the statute book, when they took the points of government. The Marshal will say, that he is but an Executive officer, and is only carrying out the order of his superiors, and that he does not wish to hold him in prison a single day. The District Attorney will say, that in moving the Court to re-imprison Mr. Booth, he has but obeyed orders from Washington, and that he had to do it, or resign. Judge Miller--well if he told the truth, he would say that he was so eager to convict Mr. Booth, that he trampled on law and justice to accomplish it, and that he considers it his duty to follow the teachings of the Dred Scott Judiciary. All these officials understand that Slavery is the vital and controlling element of the national government, and that the behests of the Slave Power must be obeyed, or their places will be filled by more subservient men.

But Republicans have no such excuse. Mr. Booth is imprisoned in violation of the laws, judicial decrees, executive declarations, authority, rights and sovereignty of the State. He is kept in prison now, solely because the State has failed to vindicate its authority and honor, and redeem the pledges it has made to protect his liberty. That he is held in prison now, is as much the fault of the Republican party, as it was the fault of the slaveholding government in committing him to prison. And it is as justly blameable in doing nothing for his release, as the U. S. Government is in not opening his doors. And in one respect far more so. For the U. S. Government is acting up to its professions, while Republicans are bellying theirs. And every hour that he remains in prison, while no steps are taken for his release, is a reproach to the Republican party of Wisconsin.

Mr. Booth, we understand, has given up all expectation of relief, till the inauguration of a new President. Four months imprisonment may well have taught him to get trust in the Republican party of this State, for help. Wisconsin, the first State in the Union to reject the Fugitive Slave Act, and pledge her authority and sovereignty to protect her citizens against the invasion of the slave catchers and kidnappers; hailed by the liberty loving of her sister States as the first born of Freedom, as the only practically free State, as the pioneer in a legal vindication of the Constitution from slave holding perversions and interpretations, which made the Declaration of Independence a reality, and gave assurance that liberty dwelt in the organic law and inspired her judges to do justice.

Wisconsin, brave and honored and glorious for her fealty to Freedom, up to the first day of March, 1860, where stands she now? Judge Miller drew his pen across the judgment of her Supreme Court and it is annulled. He orders a citizen imprisoned whom the State has released, the State vouches and acknowledges his detention. No self ever eyed his master, no slave ever submitted to his owner, with more quietness, docility and readiness, than the great State of Wisconsin has submitted to the authority of Judge Miller. Its courts, its authority, its sovereignty, its liberties have all been "whistled down the wind," as the playthings of a despot, and if this usurpation is permitted to stand, the Slave Power is henceforth the supreme authority, and the will of Judge Miller the supreme law in Wisconsin. Well may Senator Durkee ask, in surprise, "Is there not virtue enough in the people to maintain their own honor, and vindicate the decisions of their own Courts?" We believe there is, and that all the people need is to have the way pointed out to them in which they can act. We shall have something further to suggest hereafter.

#### A BIT OF SATIRE.

PUBLIC HONORS TO COLORED PEOPLE.--The colored people are now in high honor in this city. The prejudice against a dark complexion seems to be vanishing away. The city authorities, and the citizens themselves, have just been lavishing profuse attentions upon a few dozen new comers with dusky skins. The newspapers, for several days past, have been pre-announcing their movements; the largest of the hotels have been engaged expressly for their accommodation; the fleetest of North River steamboats was chartered to steam them up the bay to the Battery; the flags of the shipping were hoisted in honor of their arrival; the store windows of the finest marble fronts on Broadway were crowded with badges and banners, printed in large letters, bidding them welcome; the military were drawn up in procession, seven thousand strong, to add to the scene the honors of the national stripes and stars; the streets were crowded with half the inhabitants of the city, to swell with the popular voice the general chorus of the day; and all this bustle and excitement, all this gathering of a great multitude in holiday attire, all this beating of drums, and playing of fifes, performed simply and solely in honor of a few carriage loads of colored people, newly arrived from their warm country, across the sea, their faces tinged with a very unpopular blackish brown.

The colored people sat in their carriages, and politely bowed to the whites, who gathered around them on every side. They gave evident tokens, by repeated smiles and by graceful gestures of the hand, that they were immensely pleased with their honorable reception. After this, who will ever again accuse the colored people of ingratitude? They appear to be in very good condition, without fault or flaw; or, as they say in Richmond, "warranted sound and healthy--right and true good." We should think--though not claiming to be the best judge of such articles--that Simi Bajeneno Kami, first Ambassador, being now a little old and care worn, and probably having seen his best days, might not bring in the market more than \$800. Mooragaki Awaji-no Kami, who is slightly injured in personal appearance by heavy lips and protruding front teeth, might be knocked down at the same price. Moorata Okatoroh, who, it is said, has learned to read English, might on that account be considered a little dangerous to our peculiar institutions, and would hardly be a desirable article of purchase. But Tommy, who is a general favorite, would undoubtedly command

a high cash price because of the extreme liveliness of his disposition and his remarkable ability to amuse.

These colored people, however, notwithstanding the general activity of the colored people's market, have not yet been offered for sale at any price. In fact, they have some very unmarketable bad habits, the most striking of which is a claim to natural and social equality with the rest of mankind. Thus, although colored people, they do not only make a visit to Washington, but, to the great discredit of our institutions, succeeded in getting into the best circles of society there. Although only colored people, they were nevertheless invited into the White House by the white man who lives in it, and the white, pretty young woman, who sits at the head of the table. The Old Public Functionary, who writes himself as the Gray-haired, made a profound bow to these colored people, who, in bowing in return, as was plainly noticed, showed themselves like that well-known colored person, Uncle Ned--

"Without any hair on the top of his head."

The colored people then proceeded to Baltimore, and although they had no free papers to show, and so far as we are informed, no vouchers according to law, were permitted to pass through the city after only a brief detention on the part of the authorities. On Saturday afternoon they arrived in this city, and although their coming created great excitement, we have not learned that Capt. Rynders or his deputy marshals made any attempt at arrest. On the contrary, the chief magistrate, Mayor Wood, who stood so very high upon his dignity during his recent visit to the colored people at Charleston, kindly condescended to give a cordial greeting to these colored people on their visit to him at the City Hall.

The Mayor's brother, too, sent to the colored people a handsome banquet, though this instance has not made so striking an impression as the other, inasmuch as he is himself one of the colored people, of the title of Wood's Minister. Gov. Morgan, from whom we had a right to expect great kindness, to all colored people, did no more than we anticipated in his polite attentions. But we confess to grateful surprise at the generous invitation of Mr. and Mrs. James Gordon Bennett, soliciting the pleasure of the company of the colored people in their spacious parlors at Washington Heights, on Tuesday, at 1 o'clock. It is, however, but just to Mr. Bennett to say that his invitations were issued privately, and not through the columns of the *Herald*--so that no apprehension need be felt for the Union of the States.

It is to be hoped that so many and so flattering demonstrations of good will toward the colored people may be the harbinger of an era of better feeling. We are glad to learn that, during their stay in this city, they will be handsomely entertained at the Metropolitan Hotel, and will be permitted to sit at the same table with the whites. They now walk up and down our streets unmolested, greeted with much courtesy but always respectful attention; and when, fatigued with walking, they prefer to ride, they are gratified to find as another evidence of increasing public sympathy, vehicles on almost all the avenues, fitted up for their express accommodation, with the generous announcement, "Colored people allowed in this car." Thus, everything will be done to make their stay agreeable, both to themselves and to us, and we doubt not that when they go away they will take with them not only our warm regards, but also our equally warm prejudices against the colored people.

From the American Presbyterian.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE REVIVED.

Six months ago a great deal was said about the disposition of our fellow-citizens of the South to shield and even stimulate that traffic in human beings which the law of the land, expressing the judgment of every healthy conscience, denounces as piracy. But the facts to sustain these assertions were scanty. But within a few weeks a mass of astounding facts have come to light, proving beyond a doubt the most extensive participation of Americans in the slave trade. And not only is the South now involved, but the North comes in for at least as great a share of guilt. Northern as well as Southern officials are guilty of complicity: one at the outset, and the other at the consummation of the enterprise. Northern capital equips the vessels, and from Northern ports the piratical fleet takes leave: of these Christian shores, upon an errand worthy of the thickest darkness of heathenism.

The N. Y. Spectator says:

"Recent discoveries show that slavers are fitted out in New York; that they go forth on their fiendish mission almost without interruption. The denunciation of various parties is necessary to the fitting up of a vessel for the slave trade. The preparing of a slave for sea, necessarily implies the complicity of many parties besides the owners or charterers. The provisions for a slave are peculiar, and it is a moral impossibility that the firm or agent who furnishes these supplies can be ignorant of the true character of a vessel requiring them. The fixtures, including the slave deck, the water-casks, and the coppers, to say nothing of the shackles, etc., come under a similar category, and the contractor for such fixtures must know why they are wanted; and it is not creditable to our city, any more than it is to the federal officers, that vessels engaged in this inhuman, nefarious and piratical trade are habitually fitted up in, and take their unlooked-for departure from our shores and docks."

Dispatches have been received at the Navy Department from the African squadron, stating there was not only no abatement in the slave trade, but it was greatly on the increase. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the various squadrons on the coast, the persons engaged in this inhuman work manage in some way to elude the vigilance of our ships and crews, who are constantly on the alert, and they often escape with full cargoes of live Africans.

The New York *Observer*, a paper whose large Southern subscription list is certainly a strong temptation to touch the offences of that quarter but tenderly, says:

"We have evidence which is constantly accumulating, that the slave trade is actively pushed by men in this country in spite of our laws, and the vigilance of those who are set to prevent it. It is supported by a party at the South who believe it to be right and expedient; it is carried on by men at the North whose god is gold, and who would plunder heaven itself, as they defy hell to make money. We must concentrate a public sentiment against the men, South and North, who are in favor of this accursed traffic, and especially we must be on our guard against the counsel of those who tell us there is no danger of the trade being reopened."

These are wholesome words of the *Observer*. It is indeed high time that good men were thoroughly aroused to the strength and significance of these disgraceful retrograde movements. Public sentiment be set right, and must be brought to bear strongly, not against these violators of the plainest laws of God and man, for they can be reached only by the severest measures, but upon those whose rose-colored views of slavery, as a philanthropic institution, under whose humanizing and Christianizing influences it would be a good deed to bring by force as many Africans as the country could hold, have emboldened these Northern pirates to greater activity, and encouraged the Southern judiciary to throw around them the protection of their ermine.

The land is beginning to groan under the burden of this intolerable iniquity. The enemy is coming in like a flood. Even conservative journals can no longer hold their peace. It is a crisis in which neutrality is impossible, and silence on the part of those who ought to speak, criminal. In the name of the gospel, in the name of the latter half of the nineteenth century, in the name of the hourly expected advent of the millennium, in the name of humanity, we protest against indifference or slackness on the part of any calling themselves Christians, in their opposition to this returning shadow of heathenism, falling right athwart our mid-day of liberty and our religion.

#### DR. CHEEVER'S VISIT TO EUROPE.

Dr. Cheever is to sail for Europe, this day, June 14, in the steamer *Adriatic*. The best wishes and prayers of the friends of freedom in this country will attend him. On Sunday Evening he delivered his last sermon to his Church and Congregation previous to his departure. His text was--"For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." The carnal weapons disclaimed by the apostle, the preacher understood to include the carnal policy so much in use at the present day. And slavery was emphatically the strong hold of Satan in this country.

In Dr. Cheever, the British public will find an American abolitionist, and Minister of the Gospel, of the genuine stamp--not one of the counterfeit description, by whom they have so often been imposed upon. In the statements he may make concerning the affairs of his church, the position of the prominent churches in this city, and of this country, in general, they may place the most unwavering confidence. They may credit him as an American abolitionist whose theological orthodoxy is unimpeached, and whose evangelical piety and corresponding example have never been questioned. Whatever aid they may find in their hearts, and within their ability to extend to him and to the Church of the Puritans, they may regard as contributed, not to him, and to that particular Church alone, but to the interests of pure religion, Christian freedom, and a free pulpit in this city and vicinity alone, but instrumentally through them, and under the divine blessing, to the purification of the American ministry, the free utterance of Bible truth, in its fullness, against the sin of slaveholding, and thus, for the wielding of the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, for the liberation of the enslaved. Under the providence of God, Dr. Cheever and his church, at a most interesting crisis, have been enabled to place themselves in the gap, and the turning point of the controversy, for aught we can tell, may be suspended upon the question, *Shall they be sustained?* In none of our great central cities, by any prominent preacher, has such a standard in Puritans, been raised, as by the Church of the Puritans, and its pastor. In no other way, we are persuaded, could the funds, more or less, that may be necessary to sustain them, be more judiciously applied, by the British Christians for the benefit of the American slave. We say this, deliberately, spontaneously, and unhesitatingly, after having watched the cause, and after having, according to our best ability, labored in it, for thirty years, and having no personal connexion with, nor pecuniary interest in the Church of the Puritans.

#### TWO INTERPRETATIONS.

[The Cincinnati platform has been regarded objectionable because susceptible of two very different interpretations. The *National Intelligencer* in a recent article upon the Chicago platform, intimates that the same objection may be there urged. We quote from the article.]

The seventh resolution of the series denounces as a novel and dangerous political heresy the doctrine that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories. To say that the Constitution of the United States 'carries' any thing into the Territories is little better than a confusion of terms, for, as the Territories are subject to the just supremacy of Congress, it is obvious that they must receive their law from the National Legislature, acting under the Constitution, and by virtue of which it is competent either to tolerate or prohibit slavery, according to the wise discretion of Congress, as exercised in the earlier and better days, when a wise discretion was not rendered impossible by the conflict of sectional passion. If the condition for its normal exercise no longer exist, the power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories still remains the same as it was in 1789 and 1793, and 1804, at which successive dates our fathers established a series of precedents showing that,

in their judgment, the Constitution of the United States, 'carried,' of its own force, neither slavery nor the interdiction of slavery into the common domain of the Union.

And this naturally leads us to consider the terms of the eighth resolution, the only one in the whole series which is peculiar to and distinctive of the Republican party. It is couched in the following words:

"That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that 'no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

In denying to Congress, or a Territorial Legislature, or any individuals the authority to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, the Republicans declare 'the normal condition' of a Territory to be such that by virtue of the relation it bears to the General Government, under the Constitution, it must be considered 'free'--that is, non-slaveholding--a proposition as indefensible in point of logic as it is unsupported by history. We have discussed these points at such great length on former occasions that we need do no more than refer our readers to the facts and arguments previously adduced in relation to this subject. To show, however, the little importance attached to dogmatic deductions of faith even by the very parties who subscribe to them as tests of political orthodoxy, we cannot omit to cite the fact that a large and respectable portion of the Chicago Convention, immediately after propounding this high doctrine on the subject of slavery in the Territories, proceeded to vote for an eminent citizen as their chosen candidate for the Presidency, while well knowing that he repudiated any such doctrine in the breadth and generality thus assigned to it. We allude to the Hon. Edward Bates of Missouri, who, having been interrogated a few weeks before the meeting of the Chicago Convention with regard to his opinions on this subject, had responded as follows:

"Slavery is a social relation, a domestic institution. Within the States it exists by the local law, and the Federal Government has no control over it there. The Territories, whether acquired by conquest or peaceful purchase, are subject and subordinate, not sovereign like the States. The nation is supreme over them, and the National Government has the power to permit or forbid slavery within them."

As nobody supposes that this distinguished citizen would have modulated his views on this point in order to meet the wishes of the Chicago Convention, it follows that he had received the nomination at its hands he would have been likely to regard the resolution in question as no more incumbent on him in accepting, than it obviously would have been on the delegates themselves in concurring in the honor of such a nomination.

The twelfth resolution is expressed in the following terms:

"That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of those imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and recommend the policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

This resolution is differently interpreted by leading Republicans, in accordance with their conflicting opinions upon the subject of public economy. No two exponents of the Republican creed are more capable than such publicists as Henry C. Carey, of Philadelphia, and Wm. C. Bryant, of New York. Yet they are at direct antipodes in their construction of this language. Mr. Carey, in a recent political tract under the title of 'Protection of Home Labor and Home Productions,' holds the following language:

"By their recent vote on the tariff question in Congress, as well as by their action in Convention at Chicago, the Republicans have demonstrated to the people of the United States and to the world that while theirs is the party of freedom, true conservatism, and progress, in it and in it alone lies the hope of American agriculture."

On the other hand, Mr. Bryant, in the New York *Evening Post*, denies that this resolution contains a single word in favor of the protection of home labor or home productions. To this effect that journal remarks as follows:

"The twelfth of these resolutions is called in some of the journals an approval of a higher tariff of duties. The *Tribune* seems to have fallen into the same mistake when it calls it a resolution in favor of a protective tariff. We have read the resolution several times over, and cannot find in it a single word in favor of raising the duties on imported goods, nor the slightest mention of the doctrine of protection. Favoritism to the manufacturer is no part of the policy it recommends to the adoption of the Government."

"This is the interpretation we put upon the resolution adopted at Chicago, and it is as fair a construction as any other. If any other construction to a fairer or a truer one, then we do not belong to the party by which the resolution is adopted. If it was intended to adopt a resolution which should mean nothing distinct or positive, but should bear two constructions, then the Convention has done what was unworthy of the party whom it professes to represent, and we are ashamed of it. It would have become it better to be silent on this topic altogether."

"The construction we have placed upon this resolution we shall hold to firmly. If the Republican party should elect its candidate he must act on that construction, or he will soon find himself encountered by an opposition by which he will be overwhelmed."

In the face of such differences it is not for us to